/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north of the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. Three-fourths [342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's [241] hut. Around the camp, rocas (forest clearings) have been laid out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet [271] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every year between the months of October and December. In the [756] large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ the father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
[825] emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
● 756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
533 tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

● 756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755
[123] I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures, and each rekurá was a new, great experience for me. I was
755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the
752 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and
622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waiká had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

[431]

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114 In this context I should like to cite the following very revealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

/102 cont./
755 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that
•756
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506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

769 3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomão -- (508). It always takes

[192]

508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomão.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, etc.) also take part. The
[114] patapáanomão festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of
769 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations
251 for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

2: Becher--281 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/16/
Surára
Pakidái
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291

Ill. 49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

526
237

Ill. 50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

2: Becher

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

● 756

/For information on the initiation and training of young Surára and Pakidái men in matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing of the sick and tribal traditions, prior to their obtaining full adult status in the society, see category 884./

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
825] of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three different theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
791 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
● 756 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not
793 the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/212 cont. /We were greatly surprised to find
554 this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did
791 not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar
793 situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).
●756 The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists
171 who have studied this matter[1] is that it is a matter of a Circum-
194 Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of
793 priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural
771 complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence,
121 owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the
191 temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

121 We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the
773 Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit
793 authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have,
756 however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

771 The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts
171 of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the
774 Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

1 [i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/220 cont./

159 764 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and [775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[225] The feline respects only a dead sablí, because he will die in turn if he approaches.

• [756] Our informant spent several nights next to his father's [784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 764 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 775 [756] Later the sablí carries the bones to a fire prepared in the plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our informant also said that as the sablí did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hĩkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĩkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĩkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their [756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĩ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of [184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĩawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

● 756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
974 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the híkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablf, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablf will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladt of the sablf is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital princi-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific hfkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific hfkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the hfkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the hfkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have hfkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the hfkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanfdmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanfdmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanfdmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.
[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

/227 cont./

773 774 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanſdmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 774 756 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great sablſ, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablſ went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanſdmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablſ then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablſ had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanſdmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 774 The skin of Chinanſdmawan, abandoned in the forest, gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanſdmawan which is called hſkula,

774 [764] The hſkula is that part of the male which remains on earth after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hſkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hſkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hſkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hſkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] [276] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of yopó, sing about their gigantic hſkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwīawan, has no hſkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

[793]

/228 cont./

• 756 778 825 [533] The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants represented in his híkuladɛ, with which he communicates while he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song õkamõ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 533 754 [825] [774] The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 756 [754] [753] [761] I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 755 774 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts, sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/228 cont./

•756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hāwiawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kāilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hāwiawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1953, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 33.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1936, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.

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136 know the world, a few excursions into those terrible waters where the very absence of peril means, for these lowland monsters, the greatest peril of all.

V

* 123 The Samatari had now got quite used to having us in their midst and their primitive fear of us—the emotion which gives rise to an instinctive urge to [609] kill—had disappeared utterly. The fear strangers evoke in them is twofold: they are afraid of being killed, and of having their womenfolk raped. We hadn't killed anybody, and the women did not attract us. We left them in peace, even when they were driven by their insatiable professional curiosity to inspect our private parts.

From being merely tolerated, therefore, we soon passed quite naturally to the stage of having a rather more positive value placed upon us. Soon we were superior beings who had chosen their tribe as the privileged recipients of our friendship. This was without a doubt an auspicious sign for them, and one they must profit by. For the moment the profit which the medicine-man had in mind related only to matters appertaining to magic and moral spheres and had nothing to do with our persons. We ourselves, indeed, were not called upon to play an active part.

* 123 Ceremonies of propitiation were enacted at night. The medicine-man would ● 756 sit in his hammock with his feet dangling over the fire, invoking prosperity for 789 his own people and ruin and death for their enemies (who were doing the same 982 thing, in the same spirit, at the same moment, in some other corner of the forest). But the Samatari had us with them: the effect of their invocations would travel far and fast, like the explosion of the *bombamadé*.

* 123 The medicine-man would suddenly sit up in his hammock as if he was cold, 533 and after burbling something incomprehensible, slowly shout out the name of 756 a fruit—for instance, *monama*. The last syllable was held for some time, with 789 modulations that reminded me of an echo rebounding from hill to hill. When this solo was over the men's chorus—they were all sitting round the fire in their hammocks, too—would take up the refrain, reciting a long litany full of mournful verses. According to the brief explanations given by Luis Antonio, the gist of it was: much *monama* for the Samatari and none for their enemies. Let hunger strike them down. They are bad men. A moment's silence would

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follow. Then, in the same fashion, the medicine-man would announce the name of another fruit, let us say *olashi*. The chorus would repeat the same formula. And so on, through all the thirty-two fruits of the forest, the litany was sung. Then it was the animals' turn—those that provided meat. From the noble tapir right down to the worm: might he pass serenely from his muddy lair into the tomb of the Samatari stomach.

When the victualling business had thus been settled, the time was ripe for more general songs and prayers. One little song that turned up I had already heard among the Guayca and other Shirians. The tune was easily recognizable, catchy, even; but the words were strange, and probably not understood by the singers themselves. Then came isolated songs, and broken matches of tunes that went on all night till the first gleam of dawn, when the priest and his flock gradually dropped off to sleep. The ceremony was over.

It might appear from a hasty glance at their ceremonies of propitiation and exorcism that the Shirians believe in the supernatural, but this is not so.

We often questioned Uarema on the subject, but his reply was always in the negative, and he laughed at the Makiritari's Canaima and the other tribes' Maguaritòn. 'We don't believe in those stories,' he answered, invariably, in his picaroon Spanish. The Shirians do not believe in supernatural beings such as gods, devils and their intermediaries. Certain ceremonies of theirs, it is true, are addressed to powers which we should not consider as belonging to the material world, but to the Shirian mind they do belong to this world, like other evident natural forces.

For instance, the medicine-man's cures for the sick possess a value and a methodology corresponding to medicine as we practise it. The sickness—the bad thing—is clearly visible. The medicine-man is a man with a powerful voice, which frightens the bad thing as it might frighten a man. The bad thing is forced to take flight, leaving the sufferer free. Magic, as we conceive it, is not involved.

Another example will emphasize the Shirian viewpoint even better. When the Shirians are shooting the rapids, anyone on board without a definite job, such as steering or paddling, will make a gesture with his hand to keep the swirling waters well away. For us, such a gesture would imply some sort of superstitious idea, for there is no physical connection between the hand that is trying to ward off the water and the water itself. But to the Indians it is rather an example of a purely physical phenomenon arising out of the man's will-power and his determination that the boat shall not be swamped, which his

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771
789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the
831 supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm.
[832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a
757 substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

● 756 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor
793 and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalla*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalla* at

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Pulipuli—the only one then known to exist—could pick out an assassin from a group of ten men gathered for his ceremonies of exorcism. After a few passes made by the wizard, the guilty man lost his hair at one fell swoop, and was thus unmasked.

Endowed as I was with unimaginable powers, I became the *lahalla*. I was called 'Lahallatuan'. My watch, by the aid of which I could see the passing of the hours, predict the weather, foretell the course of journeys and cure certain ills (by applying it to the affected part) had also been promoted. No longer was it mere medicine-man's magic, but lahalla's magic.

VI

We were now an integral part of the Samatari tribe and in certain respects their moral leaders. The chief, glorying in his (our) red drawers, gave us the benefit of strange daily discourses in which he seemed to be inviting us to take part in his counsels and share in the planning of tribal activities. I had begun to learn the language, which had already interested me in the Canaracuni days, and was able to reply with a few more or less appropriate words, hoping that they would fit in with what I imagined he was talking about. My efforts were generally crowned with success and everyone shouted with glee at the sight of a white man speaking Shirian.

The world the Indians know, within the limits of their primitive conception, is a boundless forest criss-crossed by rivers and water-courses flowing in every direction. The final destination of these streams is not understood, or even thought of. In the centre of this forest is the tribe itself. Over there are other Indians, known only to few and spoken of from time to time. Somewhere in the same forest there are Indians with beards and clothes, outboard motors and guns—terrible Indians, tall in stature and always bad, angry men: such is the first impression occidentals make on these more apathetic wild peoples. The two of us, envoys of these distant Indians, had shown that we were not such bad men, and not in such a perpetual rage. In all humility and simplicity, we had become part and parcel of the Samatari themselves, and they on their side did not lack a real and disinterested friendliness towards us, as witness the behaviour of the boys, our admirers, who never lost a chance of overwhelming us with their kindness. That I should speak their language was the most wonderful

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the last part of it, we should take about eight days to reach the Uagna, where we had the canoe. Our only worry was lest everybody should want to come along with us—as we had invited them to, in the hope that they wouldn't accept! However, if we found ourselves in the company of more of them than we could shake off, we could ask them all to wait for us on the Uagna, where it should be evident that the two canoes at our disposal could only carry three or four each.

But the Samatari understood this better than we did, being very sensible about such problems of logistics. If they came with us, they risked the well-being of their women and children in more or less unknown country where fruit was scarce. This they saw clearly, and after a discussion with the chief the majority of them dropped the idea. The medicine-man himself, who had put aside all false pride and professional dignity, came along to ask me to cure him of the intestinal pains that were troubling him, and spoke of the 'two pulipuli', but he let it be clearly understood that the auguries for such a journey were not good, and that the Uagna was bad—there must be something about this river, for unquestionably rich as the region is in game, it is no longer frequented by the Indians. The Sanemà, came the verdict, would not accompany us on the journey, except for a few, to the number of the fingers of one hand, or maybe one or two more—presumably the medicine-man meant our special boys who caressed us in the evening, full of love and admiration for our two bearded selves.

The tribe also performed a ritual ceremony at the chief's direction, and this showed them that the day of our departure was not far distant. A group of men arrived, followed by their womenfolk: they chased off the young children who were being too inquisitive, and then approached Enrico. The chief had a long pole in his hand. He put it beside my companion and asked him to raise his hand as high as possible. Suddenly we understood. The Indians wanted some permanent record of this giant's height (Enrico stood about six foot three) which to them was phenomenal. This gave a certain official touch to the proceedings. Enrico limbered up, coughed, and holding himself erect, touched the highest point he could on the pole. The Samatari watched in the utmost amazement. Then they wanted Enrico to stand on tiptoe so that he could reach still higher. Then they notched the pole to his measure and ran through the camp howling in a random dance around it, jumping up like monkeys to see who could reach as high. No one succeeded, and after many jokes and sallies,

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So we passed one of those anxious forest nights, our thoughts torn between the fate of our equipment and fear of an attack. But there were two aspects of the matter which reassured us, and bearing them in mind we managed to get some sleep towards morning. One was the comparative serenity of our Indians, who had made no alteration in their habitual way of spending the night—long spells of sleep, interrupted occasionally for a brief moment to attend to the fire. The other was the mental inventory we made of the items of equipment we still had with us, enough, certainly, for us to live on until we could get out of this region on to some Brazilian or Venezuelan river. One doubt still lingered: suppose the Indians refused to go on with us? They had been badly scared by whatever it was that had happened up on the hills, and rather than face it again they might want to change the route.

We set off next morning without any breakfast. But the fact that the Indians came along too, without making any bones about it, was very comforting. We went over two hills, and then the track crossed a stream of milky water running in a south-easterly direction. Its rocky bed was strewn with great jagged blocks of quartz. A little while later, on steadily rising ground, we turned aside into territory where there was no track at all, and reached a forest clearing which had been formed by the fall of a group of trees of the *cesalpinae* family. They were lying on the mouldering forest floor. And there, under a regular stockade of tree-trunks, was our baggage that the men had left on yesterday's trip. Our porters took some of the most-needed medical supplies and the best of the tinned stuff from this dump, to add to the burdens they were already carrying, and we went on towards the heart of the mystery.

The slope became gradually steeper and we finished up against a rocky sandstone cliff—a blank wall that we should have to climb. We followed along the foot of it to the right for perhaps two hundred yards till we came to a landslip, overgrown with bamboos and bromeliads, which offered an open view over the valley. We climbed up and found ourselves on a high plateau, among vegetation of a different order—poorer, thinner stuff. This plateau soon began to tilt downwards towards the farther side, at a steadily increasing angle, till we came to a stream of black water which ran in the same direction as the last we had seen.

As if performing some rite, the medicine-man took a bath here. There really was something extraordinary about this character. A purely voluntary

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bath like this—we had never seen him take one before—seemed to prove the point.

Between the sandstone of the high plateau and the usual granite of this region there was here an unexpected intermediary layer white with kaolin. After another hour of hard going we once more found ourselves in the lush vegetation of the lowlands. To the left of the track at one point, in a cavity formed by the collapse of a big tree whose roots had been torn out of the earth, we found the light baggage carried here and stowed the day before. It was apparently unharmed, even if literally covered with a revolting army of termites. We had the packs taken out of the hole (with the greatest caution for fear of a hidden snake), piled them all up together and covered them with palm leaves—because now the Indians didn't seem to be in any hurry to cover more mileage that day, nor did they lift a finger to start putting up the usual shelter for the night.

The baggage was untouched: the possibility of seeing our expedition through to the end was therefore open to us once more. Such a satisfactory state of affairs filled us with enthusiasm, and we decided to sacrifice no less than four tins of corned beef. We shared it out among the porters. This extra meal put some heart into the Indians, and picking up their machetes again they beckoned us to follow them along the track once more, where it veered to the south, through the forest. We could make out from their gestures that we were close to the heart of the great mystery now, and so took plenty of ammunition with us in case we should need it. The gradient stiffened. The track turned to the right, into a thick maze of wild banana and thorny iriarteae, and then through a little swamp where there were numerous prints of bare feet, to end up in front of a stockade of thorny palm, freshly piled up for some defensive purpose.

A sweet, heavy smell hung in the air—the typical smell of an Indian camp after it has been abandoned for a few days, which comes from rotting remains of meat and game, and decaying vegetable matter. The barrier of thorny palm was an insuperable obstacle for bare Indian feet. We followed it along to the right till we found a break, half hidden by a few tree-trunks, which led us inside the camp. At first sight it seemed no different from the usual Samatari pattern. Here and there—all over the place, in fact—were piles of ashes and vegetable refuse of all kinds. But this encampment had one particular feature which, although the conscious part of our minds missed it at first, made us feel

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leaves, wanted one thing more: the nail, the nail that had been his perpetual bane! We had plenty with us, and gave him half a dozen.

We sat around big festive fires (though, alas, we had no fine beast to cook on them!) and the medicine-man exorcized their new possessions with his chants. That night we slept tighter than we had ever done since the time when we had drunk cacire on the Yevarehuri.

VII

The next morning's dawn was silent as the tomb, and drowsily we sensed a strange difference. Then, all of a sudden, we woke to the realization that the Shirians were gone. Men, women, children and dogs had vanished into the depths of the night. The fires hadn't been made up for some time and were nearly all out. The hammocks were still swinging in their places—it was not unusual for them to be abandoned and it had happened before, because being simply lianas and tree-bark they were very easily replaced.

Carmine fired off a few shots. The forest swallowed them up without even an echo. Our enthusiasm had betrayed us once more. We should have postponed the pay-off until the arrival of the promised Shirians, and then our men would not have shot the moon. As it was, we could only wait in the hope that the others would turn up, though it might well be that the medicine-man and his brother had invented them so that they could satisfy us and be off.... Dear, damnable brigand brother, with the gentle, brooding look that was like the cloudy sweetness of fermenting wine, off and away through the forest, leading his little band back over the familiar path, back to the river on the other side of the mountain—laden with our goods, and proud owner of the nail! The greatest experience of his lifetime was over now, and he was hardly to be blamed for having gone off in the middle of the night, without saying good-bye. How could anyone guess what reasons prompted him—a rebel, an anarchist, a wild savage from the Amazon mountains, who in a moment of weakness had joined up with an expedition of flat-foots, men incapable of keeping alive without a mountain of tins!

There was nothing to be done about it, because the situation itself was without remedy. If the new Shirians really did come, the departure of the old ones might even prove to be an advantage. The baggage was all here with us,

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 796 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Sulíliwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are religious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them. ● [756]

Numbers and Measures

802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

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[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

829
648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

704
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
[753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
[761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
[825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
[756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*621
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152 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

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Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342 [821] [756] [789]

The Yanomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

342 484

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The next layer is called *hadu kã mixi:* sky layer. It is made of earth on the top surface and provides the eternal home for the souls of the departed. A complete replica of life on earth is to be found on top of *hadu*, except that the inhabitants are spirits of men, not real men. They garden, make witchcraft, hunt, eat, and in general do what living man does. Everything that exists on earth has a counterpart on *hadu*, a sort of mirror image, although the activities of the two groups of objects and beings are independent of each other.

The bottom surface of *hadu* is the visible portion of the sky. The celestial beings are attached to this surface and move across it. It is not thought to be very far above the earth, since many of my informants asked me if I had crashed into it when I flew in an airplane.

Man dwells below the sky on "this layer": *hei kã mixi*. It originated when a piece of *hadu* broke off and fell to a lower level. This layer is a vast jungle, sprinkled with innumerable Yąnomamö villages. These are conceived to be located on earth, as shown in Fig. 2-4c. Even foreigners are thought to live in a type of house that resembles the Yąnomamö dwelling; after all, foreigners derived from the Yąnomamö by a process of degeneration.

Finally, the plane underneath this layer is almost barren. A single village of spirit-men is found here, the Amahiri-teri. A long time ago, after the earth layer was formed by a piece of *hadu*, another chunk of *hadu* fell down and crashed through earth. It hit earth at a place where the Amahiri-teri lived, carrying their village down to the bottom layer. Unfortunately, only their *shabono* and gardens were carried with the piece of *hadu*. Hence, the Amahiri-teri have no neighborhood (*uribi*) in which to hunt for game, and so they send their spirits up to earth to capture the souls of living children and eat them. There is a constant struggle between the evil spirits of Amahiri-teri shamans and the evil spirits of shamans on this layer, earth: They send malevolent demons against each other and preoccupy themselves with defending their respective villages from evil spirits.

The Amahiri-teri people lived at the time of the *no hadabö*, the first men. These original Yąnomamö were distinct from living man in that they were part spirit (*yai*) and part human. When they died, they became *yai*, spirits. *No hadabö* means, literally, "those who are now dead"; in a cosmological context, it refers to the time of the first beings.

THE FIRST BEINGS The first beings cannot be accounted for. The Yąnomamö simply presume that the cosmos originated with these people. Most of them, and there were many, had a specific function, such as creating a useful plant or object. They figure prominently in mythology. Many of them bear the names of plants and animals that are important in the Yąnomamö economy, and the first beings are considered to be the spirits of these. I will relate a few specific tales about some of these first beings, retaining where possible the Yąnomamö narrative style.

One of the first beings was called Boreawä, or simply Bore. He was the first to acquire plantains, the staple of the Yąnomamö diet. Because he had plantains first, he was the headman (*pata dodihiwä*) of the first beings. Boreawä did not tell the others that he had plantains, as he did not want to share them. At that time, the first beings ate only dirt and animals, as there was no domesticated food. One day another of the first beings, Horonama, got caught in a rain so he took refuge in a sheltered place in the jungle. He was lost and did not know whose neighborhood he was in. By luck, he took refuge in the very place where Boreawä had hidden his cultivated plantains. Horonama, a dirt eater,

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The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kaobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kaobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kaobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kaobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kaobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kaobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kaobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kaobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yanomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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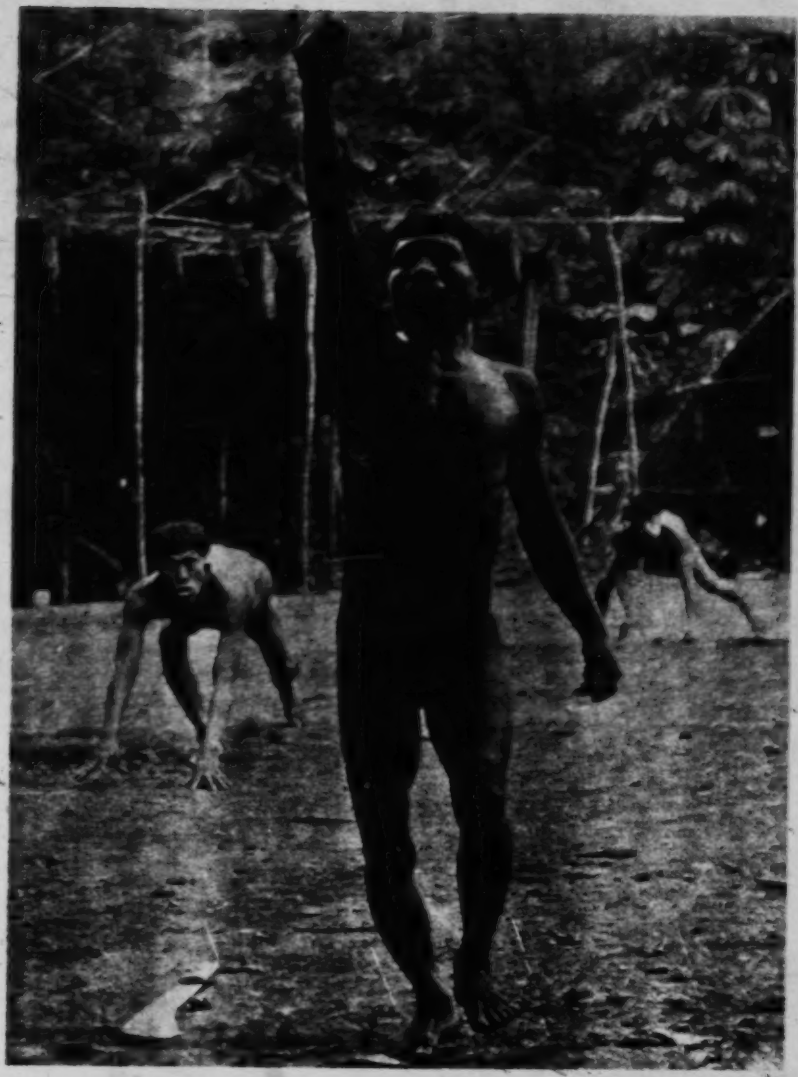

Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

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SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they